13) Eurasia and the ores in the Ural is more than 2000 km; the
487 coal of the Donets Basin, on the other hand, is about 350—450 km from the iron ore of Kryvyj Rih, while the iron and manganese ores of Kerch are nearer still. The seas in the north of Russia are frozen for 20—26 weeks, while the Black Sea has ice for but 3—4 weeks in the year. Most of its harbors can be kept open all winter by means of ice-breakers. The
[161] density of the population in Ukraine is 59 to the square kilometer which cannot be compared with the figures for Siberia (1 per sq. km) or with the average for USSR (8). Conditions in Ukraine, therefore, are much more akin to those in Europe than are those in the continental heart of Eurasia some 4000 km away. And for Ukraine this fact found expression, for instance, in the fact that it could not profit from the reduced railway freights that were granted for long-distance transportation. The unfavorable position of Moscow and Leningrad as manufacturing centers was a great handicap to the economy of Ukraine which possessed all the conditions necessary for production within its own frontiers but nevertheless had to import goods from there and export raw materials to very low prices.

As long as Russia's face was turned towards Europe, these considerations did not matter much, but they are felt all the more acutely now that the economy of the Soviet Union is definitely planned.

8. The Ukrainian idea of economy

● 421 with its championship of private property was always entirely different from the "mir" idea, with its farming in common and periodical division of the soil which was characteristic for Russian economy. Exceptions within Ukrainian territory, due to special conditions of time and place, do not alter this fundamental fact.
[566] That serfdom should have been abolished so late was felt to be a great burden by the Ukrainian who had enjoyed personal freedom in his days of political independence. He always connected serfdom with Russian rule which naturally did not help to mitigate his aversion to everything Russian.

433 In national Ukrainian literature, the relationship of different branches of economy is often discussed. It is often maintained that up to the present, development has been along the lines of

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of education, and in their occupations. The bulk (86·4 per cent.) of the Ukrainians are peasants and agriculturists. The percentage of people living in the country is in the Government of Kharkov, 85; in Poltava, 89; Yekaterinoslav, 88; Chernigov, 91; Taurida, 80; Kherson, 70. The percentage of peasants is almost the same, e. g. Kharkov, 90; Poltava, 89; Yekaterinoslav, 87; Chernigov, 86; Taurida, 73; Kherson, 61. The average increase in population is higher than in any other province in European Russia; consequently, though many peasants have become, during the last twenty-five years, workmen in the newly started industries, the general number of agricultural peasants remains unchanged.

Land Tenure[1].—While Great Russia is at present a country of communal land-ownership (*mir*), in the Ukraine or Little Russia individual or, strictly speaking, family ownership and communal ownership exist together (cf. p. 78). The *mir* in Great Russia appears to have been introduced in the sixteenth century, when the Moscow Government established serfdom and imposed heavy taxation, for it was easier to make the whole village responsible for the taxes than the separate families. However, in the north or, properly speaking, Novgorod Russ. the land, as a general rule, belonged to one large family or clan, composed of from two to six houses (the owners of which bore the same name), and called *pyechishche* (large stove). The ownership was hereditary, and hence the land became more and more subdivided, so that families owned more or less according to the number of children. There was no readjustment of the land as in the case of the *mir*. The *pyechishche* of Novgorod was known in Kiev-Russ as *ognishche* (meaning a large fire); and the term *ognishchanin* (meaning a member of the *ognishche*) is found in the Kiev law (*Russkaya Pravda*). Connected with that form of tenure is a custom, which even now is found sometimes in the Ukraine, of minorate, according to which the younger

[1] See also p. 77.

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son inherits his father's house, since the elder son has started a new house and received his share during his father's life. If a member of the *ognishche* had not enough land, he migrated.

This old custom of family ownership was the basis of the Cossack communities, which differed from the *mir* in that, as the Cossacks gave little attention to cultivation and paid no taxes, the re-allotment of their lands was not necessary, though in theory every Cossack had the same right to the land. However, towards the end of the seventeenth century, the 'elders' of the Cossacks began to appropriate more land than the commoners. After Russia had subdued the Ukraine, the commoners were turned into peasants (in 1763 and 1783), and the 'elders' were given titles of nobility in 1785. After the final introduction of serfdom into the Ukraine, the taxes were equally imposed, and therefore communal ownership on the Moscow lines was introduced, though it never had such success as in Great Russia. Remnants of *ognishches* still exist in the Governments of Chernigov and Poltava, whither it was brought by the Ukrainian colonists, though individual ownership is now predominant. In some cases, though each house owns some land privately, there are other lands, meadows, and fishing rights which belong to all the village community, and are re-allotted from time to time.

In the Ukraine, as it was immediately before the war, all the land was divided into individual and communal property. The individual property consisted of (1) State lands, (2) Imperial family appanages, (3) Church and monastery lands, (4) town lands, (5) nobles' lands, and (6) lands belonging to others than nobles. The communal property was held by the peasant and village communities. Individual ownership prevails in the Governments of Yekaterinoslav (50·4 per cent. in 1905), Kherson (51·5 per cent.), Taurida (52·6 per cent.). Then come the Governments of the south-west, Volhynia (48·9 per cent.), Kiev (45·2 per cent.), Podolia (44·4 per cent.). The eastern

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421 Governments have the smallest percentage of private ownership. Thus, in Kharkov, which contains the greatest number of Great Russians, only 35·8 per cent. of land is privately owned, and in Chernigov 41·7 per cent. The Poltava Government forms an exception; and, as it is a Government in which the Ukrainian population forms between 93 and 95 per cent., it is worth noticing that individual property still forms 45·1 per cent., even though the Stolypin reforms tended to give every facility for the introduction of communal ownership. But, though the Taurida, Kherson, and Yekaterinoslav Governments have the highest percentage of land individually owned, it is owned mostly by the nobles, especially in Yekaterinoslav (67·2 per cent.) and Kherson (63 per cent.), and less by the peasants (Yekaterinoslav, 23·7 per cent., and Kherson, 13·8 per cent.).

Taking into account both the individual and the communal land of the peasants, we find that only in the Governments of Kharkov (59 per cent.), Chernigov (53 per cent.), and Poltava (52 per cent.) do the peasants own above half of the arable land. In Volhynia, Podolia, and Kiev, they own between 40 and 48 per cent.; in Yekaterinoslav, 45 per cent.; while in Taurida and Kherson, where only about half the population is Ukrainian and town life is well developed, the percentage is 37.

The amount of land assigned to each family by the [671] Emancipation Law of 1861 was between three and eight acres, though sixteen acres are necessary to support a family. Since then the population has increased by 43 per cent., but the land available for peasant owners has only increased by 20 per cent. (in 1910). This fact has compelled the peasants to rent land, and lies at the bottom of all economic unrest. In the Government of Poltava, where the situation is most acute, some 60 per cent. of the peasants own only from one to three *desyatines*[1] of land, and as few as 4 per cent. have more than five *desyatines*. In the Governments

[1] One *desyatine* = 2·7 acres.

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of Volhynia and Podolia conditions are better, and the peasants have larger holdings, though only 16 per cent. own above five *desyatines*; in Kharkov, 33 per cent. own above five *desyatines*. In no place do the Ukrainian peasants equal in land-ownership the German and Czech colonists. The average holding among the German colonists is from 10 to 12 *desyatines*, and they specialize in cattle-breeding. The Czechs are concentrated in south-western Volhynia (in the districts of Dubno, Rovno, and Lutsk); and their average holding is 13 *desyatines*. The peasants' holdings are in a striking contrast to the big estates. In the Kiev Government there are some 43 estates of above 5,000 *desyatines* each, mostly owned by the nobles (some of them descendants of the old independent dukes, *knaz*) of Russian, Polish, or German nationality.

About 10 per cent. of the inhabitants of the Governments of Yekaterinoslav, Kherson, Taurida, Kiev, and Chernigov are occupied in industries other than agricultural. Trade occupies between 6 and 7 per cent. of the population in the Governments of Kherson, Kiev, Podolia, and Taurida.

General Observations

Ukrainian Nationalism.—The feeling of nationality, as it exists to-day, dates from Chmielnicki's rising in 1648. The old history of Kiev-Russ is common to Great Russians, White Russians, and the Ukrainians (Little Russians), and has been continued after the Tatar invasions chiefly in Great Russia, while the Ukraine ever since has been subject to one of her neighbours. Since Chmielnicki's time, the Ukrainian nationality has made progress only in one direction, i.e. in producing a small but energetic *intelligentsia*, which does not consider itself Russian or Polish in addition to being Ukrainian, though it is obliged to seek its higher education in Russia, Poland, and other foreign countries. The national feeling of this class is

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vast quantities of honey are produced, but its quality suffers from the prevalent ignorance of scientific methods of bee-keeping, and it does not command a good price.

Disease among domestic animals causes great ravages. Cattle-plague epidemics are of annual occurrence and cause heavy losses, the proportion of fatal cases being very high. The other most prevalent troubles appear to be anthrax, frounce in horses, and pneumo-enteritis amongst swine. The last disease has made great inroads of latter years, a large proportion of cases being fatal. The proportion of live-stock per 100 inhabitants shows decrease under almost every head, a slight increase in horses or pigs in some Governments by no means counterbalancing the all-round continuous shrinkage.

(*b*) *Land Tenure*[1] *and Methods of Cultivation*

As regards tenure, land in the Ukraine falls into three main classes: (1) land owned privately, mainly in large estates, but a small proportion in farm-holdings by successful peasants; (2) land termed *nadyel*, owned almost entirely by peasant communes; and (3) land owned by the Orthodox Church or the Crown, or granted as appanages to members of the Imperial family. The following table shows the total acreage, and the proportion belonging to each of these classes:

Government.	*Total area in millions of acres.*	*Percentage of*		
		Private property.	*Nadyel.*	*Church and Crown land, &c.*
Volhynia	15,484	48·9	39·8	11·3
Podolia	9,873	44·4	48·0	7·6
Chernigov	11,836	41·7	53·1	5·2
Kiev	12,484	45·2	45·6	9·2
Kherson	16,591	51·5	37·3	11·2
Poltava	11,331	45·1	52·3	2·6
Kharkov	12,141	35·8	59·2	5·0
Yekaterinoslav	15,041	50·4	45·4	4·2
Taurida	7,099	52·6	37·2	10·2
Total	111,880	Average 46·2	46·4	—

[1] See also p. 50.

421 425 Land tenure in the Ukraine is at present in an unstable state. The principal factors affecting it are two legal enactments, the first being the law of 1861 abolishing serfdom and providing for the ownership of land by peasants, who previously had held none, and the second being the Stolypin law of 1906 modifying the principle of communal ownership in peasant lands. The law of 1861 provided for land to be taken from private estates and handed over to peasants on a deferred purchase system. The land was not assigned to individuals, but to *mirs* (local communes), which divided it up for cultivation. The law also provided for periodical redistributions of this land, which is known always as the *nadyel* or endowment land. At the present time a good deal of *nadyel* land in the Governments of Poltava and Chernigov is held by individual peasant owners, but elsewhere it is all owned by communes. A peculiar principle of this system is the mutual responsibility of all members of the commune for its legal and financial obligations, even should a member have forsaken the locality and the practice of agriculture.

425 511 The great defect of the distribution of 1861 is that it is based on the rural population of that date, with no machinery for providing additional land in proportion to the natural increase of population, which has been very rapid. Two evil results have followed. First, at the periodical redistributions of *nadyel* land the amount available per head has steadily decreased. The holdings have therefore tended to become uneconomical, and a consequent impoverishment of the peasants has taken place, with the natural concomitants of arrears of rent and taxes and an increased burden of debt on the land. Secondly, efforts to purchase or rent further land from private proprietors, in order to increase the available *nadyel* land or supply the wants of prosperous peasants who wish to buy new farms, has led to an enormous increase in the price and rent of land, a rise of three times being frequent and a tenfold rise occasional. To

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alleviate these conditions various measures have been adopted, such as the easement or complete extinguishing of the burden of the purchase-price of the *nadyel*, the prevention of its frequent redistribution, and the founding of the Peasants' Land Bank by the State to facilitate further purchases of land by the communes. Nevertheless, a result not looked for by the framers of the law abolishing serfdom has followed, namely the creation of a large landless agricultural proletariat, which tends to sink in the social scale, to live partly by industry in the towns, and to be migratory in its habits.

The law of 1906 introduced for the first time the general principle of individual and permanent ownership of *nadyel* lands. It aimed at the breaking up of the *mirs* as no longer fulfilling a need, in the expectation that security of tenure by the individual would lead to a more rational and successful system of cultivation. The period since the promulgation of the law is too short to allow of sound conclusions as to its effect.

The *nadyel* lands are almost entirely cultivated on the three-field system, each unit of land being planted one year with a winter-sown grain, the following year with a spring-sown grain, and lying fallow in the third year. This method causes a disastrous impoverishment of the land, especially as in many cases the minimum of manure, whether animal or chemical, is used. An alternative method must be introduced, or the productiveness of the black-soil land under peasant ownership will continue to shrink as heretofore.

The land held by private owners is in general their perpetual freehold, and can be roughly divided into that held by the nobility in large estates and the smaller holdings purchased from them since the abolition of serfdom by prosperous peasants and others desirous of embarking on agriculture on their own account. There are also a number of foreign colonists, chiefly Germans, descendants of those introduced into the country

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425 by the Government at various times between the middle of the eighteenth century and 1861, in the hope that their superior methods of agriculture would be copied by other cultivators. This effect, however, was not produced, and the colonists form compact communities with little or no influence on their neighbours. Land in private ownership is usually farmed on more modern [241] and rational principles than the *nadyel* land, and produces almost the entire surplus of cereals which is sent abroad and to other parts of Russia.

421 The land owned by the Church, Crown, and members of the Imperial family is absolute freehold, and is generally well managed and productively farmed.

407 412 Up-to-date agricultural machinery is becoming more common all round. It is of course most in vogue on the large estates, especially in the case of expensive machines involving the use of power; steam-ploughs on the cable system are much in use on the large sugar-beet estates, and tractor ploughs with single engines are becoming numerous. By the help and enterprise of the *zemstvos* the peasants are now beginning to use modern machines and implements. The traditional *sock* or wooden plough, the flail, and other such primitive tools are disappearing, although it is hard to induce the peasant to abandon his old methods.

(c) *Forestry*

137 [311] A large portion of the Ukraine is totally denuded of trees at the present time. The Governments of Podolia and Volhynia, and the northern parts of Kiev and Chernigov, are well wooded, the area covered by forest being about 15 per cent. of the whole. In the remaining provinces the forest area averages 3–4 per cent. of the total. The State controls certain areas north of Kiev on both banks of the Dnieper, and in Volhynia on the south side of the Pripet marshes, as well as smaller scattered tracts in Podolia. In the Government of Yekaterinoslav the State has lately done much

CONSTITUTION

(Fundamental Law)

of the

UKRAINIAN

SOVIET SOCIALIST

REPUBLIC

of January 30, 1937

As amended through November 21, 1949

Chapter I. The Social Structure

642 Art. 1. The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic is a socialist state of workers and peasants.

Art. 2. The Soviets of Working People's Deputies which grew and attained strength as a result of the overthrow of the power of the landlords and capitalists, the setting up of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the liberation of the Ukrainian people from national oppression by Tsarism and by the Russian imperialist bourgeoisie and the defeat of the nationalist counter-revolution constitute the political foundation of the Ukrainian SSR.

Art. 3. In the Ukrainian SSR all power belongs to the working people of town and country as represented by the Soviets of Working People's Deputies.

471 Art. 4. The economic foundation of the Ukrainian SSR is the socialist system of economy and the socialist ownership of the means and instruments of production established as the result of the abolition of the capitalist system of economy, the abrogation of private ownership of the means and instruments of production and the elimination of the exploitation of man by man.

Art. 5. Socialist property in the Ukrainian SSR exists either in the form of State property (the possession of the whole people), or in the form of co-operative and collective farm property (the possession of collective farms or co-operative associations).

475 421 Art. 6. The land, its natural deposits, waters, forests, mills, factories, mines, rail, water and air transport, banks, communications, large State-organized agricultural enterprises (State farms, machine and tractor stations and the like), as well as municipal enterprises and the bulk of houses in the cities and industrial localities, are State property, that is belong to the whole people.

474 421 Art. 7. The common enterprises of collective farms and co-operative organizations with their livestock and implements, and the products of the collective farms and co-operative organizations, as well as their common buildings, constitute the common, socialist property of collective farms and co-operative organizations.

In addition to its basic income from the common collective farm enterprise, every household in a collective farm has for its personal use a small plot of household land and, as its personal property, a subsidiary husbandry on the plot, a dwelling house, livestock, poultry and minor agricultural implements — in accordance with the regulations of the agricultural artel.

[Ukrainian Constitution as of Nov. 21, 1949]

423 474 Art. 8. The land occupied by collective farms is secured to them free of charge and for an unlimited time, that is, in perpetuity.

472 Art. 9. Alongside the socialist system of economy in the Ukrainian SSR the law permits the private economy of individual peasants and artisans based on their own work and precluding the exploitation of the labour of others.

421 Art. 10. The right of citizens to personal ownership of their incomes from work and of their savings, of their dwelling houses and subsidiary household economy, their household furniture and utensils, articles of personal use and convenience, as well as the right of inheritance of personal property of citizens, is protected by law.

185 471 Art. 11. The economic life of the Ukrainian SSR is determined and directed by the State National Economic Plan with the aim of increasing the public wealth, of steadily improving the material and cultural level of the working people and of consolidating the independence of the socialist country and strengthening its defensive capacity.

461 Art. 12. In the Ukrainian SSR work is a duty and a matter of honour for every able-bodied citizen, in accordance with the principle: "He who does not work, neither shall he eat."

The principle applied in the Ukrainian SSR is that of socialism: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work."

Chapter II. The State Structure

642 Art. 13. For the purpose of mutual assistance among the Union Republics along economic and political lines, as well as along the line of defence, the Ukrainian SSR voluntarily united with the other equal Soviet Socialist Republics, namely:

The Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic,
The Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic,
The Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic and
The Karelo-Finnish Soviet Socialist Republic

in a federal state, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Proceeding from the aforesaid, the Ukrainian SSR ensures to the USSR, as represented by its higher organs of state power and organs of state administration, the rights defined in Article 14 of the Constitution of the USSR.

Outside of the spheres set forth in Article 14 of the Constitution of the USSR, the Ukrainian SSR exercises state authority independently, retaining its sovereign rights in full.

[Ukrainian constitution as of Nov. 21, 1949]

641 Art. 110. It is the duty of every citizen of the Ukrainian SSR to abide by the Constitution of the Ukrainian SSR, to observe the laws, to maintain labour discipline, honestly to perform public duties, and to respect the rules of socialist intercourse.

685 Art. 111. It is the duty of every citizen of the Ukrainian SSR to safeguard and strengthen public socialist property as the sacred and inviolable foundation [4.1] of the Soviet system, as the source of the wealth and might of the country, as the source of the prosperity and culture of all the working people.

Persons committing offences against public, socialist property are enemies of the people.

Art. 112. Universal military service is law.

Military service in the ranks of the Armed Forces of the USSR is an honourable duty of the citizens of the Ukrainian SSR.

[687] Art. 113. To defend the fatherland is the sacred duty of every citizen of the Ukrainian SSR. Treason to the country — violation of the oath of allegiance, desertion to the enemy, impairing the military power of the State, espionage — is punishable with all the severity of the law and is the most heinous of crimes.

Chapter IX. The Electoral System

666 Art. 114. Members of all Soviets of Working People's Deputies — of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR and of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies of regions, areas, districts, cities, settlements and villages — are chosen by the electors on the basis of universal, direct and equal suffrage by secret ballot.

Art. 115. Elections of deputies are universal: all citizens of the Ukrainian SSR who have reached the age of 18, irrespective of race, or nationality, sex, religion, educational or residential qualifications, social origin, property status or past activities, have the right to vote in the election of deputies and to be elected, with the exception of insane persons and persons who have been convicted by a court of law and whose sentences include deprivation of electoral rights.

[691] Every citizen of the Ukrainian SSR who has reached the age of 21, irrespective of race, or nationality, sex, religion, educational or residential qualifications, social origin, property status or past activities may be elected as a deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR.

Art. 116. Elections of deputies are equal: each citizen has one vote; all citizens participate in elections on an equal footing.

[562] Art. 117. Women have the right to elect and be elected on equal terms with men.

Art. 118. Citizens serving in the ranks of the Armed Forces of the USSR have the right to elect and be elected on equal terms with all other citizens.

Art. 119. Elections of deputies are direct: all Soviets of Working People's Deputies from the Soviets of Working People's Deputies of villages and cities to the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR, inclusive, are elected by the citizens by direct vote.

Art. 120. Voting at elections of deputies is secret.